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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /094 W
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R 180800Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2783
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0229

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

EO. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD APRIL 10-16

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION OF
THE VIENNA FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS, WESTERN REPS
PRESENTED THE LONG AWAITED NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE.
EASTERN REPS SAID THAT THEY WOULD THOROUGHLY STUDY THE
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LATEST WESTERN PROPOSALS, WHICH THEY WOULD REPORT TO THEIR
GOVERNMENTS, AND INDICATED THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE SOME QUESTIONS
ABOUT THEM AT THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION. THE LATTER SESSION
TOOK PLACE APRIL 14. IN IT, EASTERN REPS ASKED MORE THAN 20
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INITIATIVE, THE MAJORITY OF WHICH WERE
IMMEDIATELY ANSWERED BY WESTERN REPS. AS A RESULT OF LEAKS,
APPARENTLY FROM BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN LOCAL SOURCES, A NUMBER

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OF PRESS DESPATCHES FILED FROM VIENNA ON APRIL 13 REPORTED THAT
THE INITIATIVE HAD BEEN "INFORMALLY" PRESENTED TO THE EAST,
BUT AS YET DID NOT REVEAL ITS SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ON APRIL 10, THE NAC RELEASED FOR USE IN VIENNA GUIDANCE
ON THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE, THE CONTENTS OF WHICH WERE
APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL LAST DEC 5. WESTERN REPS PRESENTED THE
DETAILS OF THE INITIATIVE TO EASTERN REPS AT THE APRIL 12
INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAST
EAST-WEST PRACTICE, AND AT THE REQUEST OF THE AD HOC GROUP,
US REPS MET WITH SOVIET REPS ON APRIL 11 TO BRIEF THEM ON WHAT
THE WEST WOULD BE PROPOSING THE NEXT DAY. THE INITIATIVE WILL
BE OFFICIALLY INTRODUCED BY THE WEST AT THE APRIL 19 PLENARY
MEETING, WHICH WILL CONCLUDE THE FOURTEENTH ROUND OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS.

3. IN COMMENTING ON THE NEW ESTERN PROPOSALS, WESTERN REPS
AT THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION EMPHASIZED THAT THE WEST
WAS ACTING TO MEET REPEATED EASTERN EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THAT
THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH FAILED TO GUARANTEE ADEQUATELY
IN FIRST PHASE NEGOTIATIONS THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF SECOND
PHASE REDUCTIONS BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THAT
THE FIRST PHASE WITHDRAWAL OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY, AS SOUGHT
BY THE WEST, WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DETRIMENTAL TO EASTERN SECURITY.
WESTERN REPS FURTHER STRESSED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS WESTERN
STEP AS A DECISIVE MOVE TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF A MUTUALLY
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ACCEPTABLE FORCE REDUCTION AGREEMENT AND THEIR EXPECTATION
THAT, IF THE EAST SERIOUSLY DESIRED TO MOVE AHEAD TO SUCH AN
AGREEMENT, IT SHOULD ACCEPT THE NEWLY REVISED WESTERN APPROACH.
WESTERN REPS MADE CLEAR THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN
PROGRAM, OTHER THAN THOSE ADDRESSED IN THE NEW INITIATIVE,
WERE UNCHANGED AND THAT THOSE MODIFICATIONS TO IT NOW BEING
PROPOSED WERE CONDITIONAL ON EAST-WEST AGREEMENT ON MILITARY
MANPOWER DATA. THEY ALSO HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE THE WEST
ATTACHES TO THE NEGOTIATION OF EFFECTIVE ASSOCIATED MEASURES.

4. THE FOLLOWING IS THE WRITTEN TEXT OF THE NEW WESTERN
INITIATIVE WHICH WESTERN REPS DISTRIBUTED TO EASTERN
REPS AT THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION:

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SECDEF WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0229

BEGIN TEXT:

1. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WISH TO PRESENT TO THE EAST THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN THE EXISTING WESTERN PROPOSALS. THESE CHANGES ARE CONDITIONAL ON EAST/WEST AGREEMENT ON MANPOWER DATA. THOSE ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN PROGRAM WHICH ARE NOT DEALT WITH IN THIS INITIATIVE REMAIN AS THEY HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY PRESENTED.

2. THE WEST WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

I. PHASE I COMMITMENTS REGARDING PHASE II REDUCTIONS
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3. IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT, THE TWO SIDES WOULD SPECIFY: FIRST, THE OVERALL TOTALS OF MANPOWER REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND BY THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE SOVIET UNION RESPECTIVELY, AS WELL AS THE AMOUNT OF THE MANPOWER REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY THE US AND USSR, IN ORDER TO REACH THE AGREED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING;

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AND SECOND, THE TIMING OF THESE PHASE II REDUCTIONS.

4. AS REGARDS THESE PHASE II REDUCTIONS, THE WEST WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO EITHER OF TWO ALTERNATIVES:

ALTERNATIVE ONE

IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT, BOTH SIDES WOULD PROVIDE THAT THESE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN IN PHASE II IN TWO REDUCTION STATES:

(1) IN THE FIRST OF THESE TWO STAGES, EACH SIDE WOULD MAKE REDUCTIONS CALCULATED BY TAKING AN AGREED EQUAL PERCENTAGE OF 40 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS STILL NEEDED BY THAT SIDE TO REACH THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING AFTER THE AGREED PHASE I REDUCTIONS BY THE US AND USSR HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED. THESE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN COLLECTIVELY BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON EACH SIDE OTHER THAN THE US AND USSR. THESE FIRST STAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME, SAY TWO YEARS, AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT.

(2) IN THE SECOND OF THESE TWO STAGES, EACH SIDE WOULD ALSO REDUCE BY AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE OF 60 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT NEEDED TO COMPLETE MOVEMENT TO THE COMMON

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CEILING AFTER THE AGREED PHASE I REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED. THE NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE US AND USSR IN THIS STAGE AND THE OVERALL TOTALS OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN THIS STAGE BY THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND BY THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE USSR RESPECTIVELY WOULD BE SPECIFIED IN PHASE I. THESE SECOND STAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT, E.G. THREE YEARS.

(3) SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD DETERMINE THE MODALITIES OF THE PHASE II REDUCTIONS ESTABLISHED IN PHASE I AND DEAL WITH OTHER TOPICS WHICH MAY BE RAISED BY THE PARTICIPANTS.

ALTERNATIVE TWO

(1) IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT, THE OVERALL TOTALS OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND BY ALL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE USSR RESPECTIVELY, AS WELL AS THE NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY THE US AND THE USSR, TO REACH THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING,

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WOULD BE SPECIFIED. THIS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN ADDITION TO PROVIDING FOR AGREED US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS IN PHASE I AS THE WEST HAS PROPOSED.

(2) THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS WOULD DETERMINE THE MODALITIES OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS ESTABLISHED IN PHASE I AND DEAL WITH OTHER TOPICS WHICH MAY BE RAISED BY THE PARTICIPANTS. A COMMITMENT IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE THAT THE PHASE II REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME, SAY THREE YEARS, FROM THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE PHASE I AGREEMENT.

5. IN BOTH ALTERNATIVES, PHASE I WOULD ALSO PROVIDE THAT,

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IF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS DID NOT RESULT IN TIMELY AGREEMENT, EACH SIDE WOULD NEVERTHELESS IMPLEMENT THOSE PHASE II REDUCTIONS SPECIFIED IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT.

II. PHASE I WITHDRAWALS

6. AS REGARDS SOVIET WITHDRAWALS IN PHASE I:

(1) THE WEST HAS PROPOSED THAT IN PHASE I, THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS TO THE USSR A TANK ARMY CONSISTING OF 5 DIVISIONS INCLUDING 68,000 MEN AND 1,700 MAIN BATTLE TANKS.

(2) THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ARE WILLING TO CHANGE THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF A COMPLETE SOVIET TANK ARMY WITH 68,000 MEN, 1,700 TANKS AND ALL OTHER EQUIPMENT TO THE EXTENT THAT:

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ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ISO-00 /094 W
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R 180800Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2785
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

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FROM US REP MBFR USSALTTWO

(A) THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE EXPECTED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS TO THE USSR NOT A COMPLETE TANK ARMY, BUT 68,000 SOLDIERS, 5 DIVISIONS, AND 1,700 TANKS.

(B) THE WEST WOULD NOT INSIST ON THE WITHDRAWAL BY THE SOVIET UNION OF ARMAMENTS OTHER THAN MAIN BATTLE TANKS.

(C) RESIDUAL HOLDINGS OF SOVIET COMBAT EQUIPMENT OTHER THAN TANKS WOULD NOT BE PLACED UNDER ANY LIMITATIONS.

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(D) LIMITATIONS WOULD, HOWEVER, BE IMPOSED ON THE OVERALL RESIDUAL TOTAL OF SOVIET GROUND MANPOWER, ON THE COMBINED TOTAL OF SOVIET AIR AND GROUND MANPOWER, AND ON SOVIET MAIN BATTLE TANKS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

7. THE WEST WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE THAT THE PHASE I AGREEMENT WOULD SPECIFY THAT THERE WILL BE NO LIMITATION ON THE OVERALL NUMBER OF US AND SOVIET UNITS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OR ON THE LOCATION OF SUCH UNITS INSIDE THAT AREA.

8. AS REGARDS PHASE I US WITHDRAWALS, THE US WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE THAT APPROXIMATELY TWO-THIRDS OF ITS PHASE I MANPOWER REDUCTIONS WOULD RESULT IN THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNITS OR SUBUNITS.

9. THE US AND USSR, PRIOR TO SIGNING A PHASE I AGREEMENT, WOULD EXCHANGE LISTS, WHICH WOULD CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS TO BE WITHDRAWN IN PHASE I:

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(1) COMPLETE MILITARY IDENTIFICATION
(2) GARRISON LOCATION
(3) PERSONNEL STRENGTH (THE NUMBER OF PERSONNEL THAT WILL
BE REDUCED WHEN THE ORGANIZATION IS WITHDRAWN).

III. ASSOCIATED MEASURES

10. THE WESTERN PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE TO ATTACH
GREAT WEIGHT TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES, THAT IS, STABILIZING,
VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION MEASURES, APPLICABLE IN
BOTH REDUCTION PHASES FOR INCREASING MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE.
THESE MEASURES WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, HELP REDUCE THE RISKS OF
MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND INCREASE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN EAST AND
WEST. THE WEST WILL THEREFORE ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT IN THE
COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A MATTER TO BE AGREED IN PHASE I.
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IV. CLOSING REMARKS

11. IN CONCLUSION, THE WEST IS PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE
FOREGOING POINTS IF THE EAST IS PREPARED TO AGREE IN PHASE I
TO THE SOVIET AND US REDUCTIONS SPECIFIED ABOVE AND TO A COMMON
COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT ABOUT 700,000
MEN AND ON GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER AT ABOUT 900,000 MEN
WHICH WOULD BE REACHED BY FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II. THESE
PROPOSALS ARE ALSO MADE ON THE CONDITION THAT AGREEMENT IS
REACHED ON MANPOWER DATA, AND THAT COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN
IN PHASE I REGARDING THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS
ARE RESTRICTED TO THOSE PROPOSED BY THE WEST, NAMELY ON
SOVIET MAIN BATTLE TANKS AND THE SPECIFIED US NUCLEAR
ARMAMENTS. END TEXT

5. ECHOING HIS INITIAL REACTION OF THE DAY BEFORE, SOVIET
REP TARASOV SAID AT THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION THAT EASTERN
REPS WOULD NATURALLY STUDY THE NEW WESTERN PROPOSALS THOROUGHLY
AND REPORT THEM TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS. HE MADE NO COMMENT ON
THEIR SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT, BUT DID INDICATE THAT EASTERN REPS
MIGHT HAVE SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE INITIATIVE AT THE NEXT
INFORMAL SESSION. THE LATTER SESSION TOOK PLACE ON APRIL 14.
IN IT, EASTERN REPS ASKED MORE THAN TWENTY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE
INITIATIVE, SOME OF WHICH WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE POSED BY SOVIET
REPS DURING THEIR APRIL 11 MEETING WITH US REPS. WESTERN
REPS PROVIDED IMMEDIATE ANSWERS TO NEARLY ALL THE EASTERN
QUESTIONS.

6. AT THE OUTSET OF THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION, EASTERN
REPS ADDRESSED THE EASTERN POSITION ON ARMAMENT

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

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REDUCTIONS AS REFLECTED IN THE EAST'S PROPOSAL OF
FEBRUARY 19, 1976. IN SO DOING, THEY SAID THAT THE
FIRST STAGE COMMITMENTS ENVISAGED UNDER THE PROPOSAL
FOR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AND USSR
REGARDING THEIR PARTICIPATION IN SECOND STAGE
REDUCTIONS DID NOT REPEAT NOT INCLUDE SPECIFIC
COMMITMENTS ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. EASTERN
REPS ALSO COMPLAINED THAT, AFTER THE RECENT EXCHANGE
OF DISAGGREGATED MILITARY MANPOWER DATA, IT WAS
CLEAR THAT THE WEST WAS STILL NOT USING THE SAME
METHOD TO ALLOCATE EASTERN AND WESTERN PERSONNEL
PERFORMING THE SAME FUNCTION BETWEEN AIR AND GROUND
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FORCES IN ITS FIGURES FOR EASTERN FORCES AS IT

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FOLLOWED IN ITS DATA ON WESTERN FORCES. BOTH THE APRIL 12 AND 14 INFORMAL SESSIONS INCLUDED A FURTHER EAST-WEST EXCHANGE OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE DISAGGREGATED DATA EACH HAD TABLED.

7. POLISH REP STRULAK DELIVERED THE ONLY STATEMENT AT THE APRIL 13 PLENARY MEETING. HE CRITICIZED WESTERN FORCE INCREASES AND THE WESTERN POSITION ON PARITY AND COLLECTIVITY IN STANDARD TERMS. POLISH REP ALSO REFERRED TO THE EASTERN REQUIREMENT THAT WESTERN EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CANADA REDUCE THEIR ARMAMENTS IN A SECOND STAGE AND AGAIN CALLED UPON THE WEST TO ACCEPT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR AN IMMEDIATE MILITARY MANPOWER FREEZE.

8. AT THE REGULAR POST-PLENARY PRESS BRIEFING, THE WESTERN SPOKESMAN TURNED ASIDE WHAT WAS LIKELY A PLANTED QUESTION FROM A POLISH CORRESPONDENT WHO ASKED IF THE WEST WOULD BE SUBMITTING PROPOSALS "NEXT WEDNESDAY" (APRIL 19). LATER IN THE DAY, A NUMBER OF PRESS DESPATCHES WERE FILED FROM VIENNA REPORTING THAT A NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE HAD BEEN "INFORMALLY" PRESENTED TO THE EAST AND THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE OFFICIALLY TABLED BEFORE THE TALKS RECESSED NEXT WEEK. THESE REPORTS DID NOT GIVE ANY SUBSTANTIVE DETAILS OF THE INITIATIVE. THE REUTERS CORRESPONDENT PRIVATELY TOLD A WESTERN DELOFF THAT HE HAD GOTTEN THE STORY LOCALLY FROM BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN SOURCES.RESOR

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Type: TE
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